

# THE INDICATOR

History :: Economics :: Philosophy :: Current Events

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## Ten Minutes' Talk With the Workers

THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

The Socialist (Glasgow)

ON opening your newspaper this week you have probably been struck with the amount of space and criticism devoted to the great Labor Conference that is being held at Glasgow. It is to be hoped you take an interest in such proceedings, since, for good or ill, this Annual Congress of Unions indicates in a way how, and in what direction, the trend of opinion in the labor world is moving. No doubt you will say that a great many things said at such a gathering do not truly reflect the real opinions of the men and women of our class supposed to be represented. It is certainly seldom that we are consulted on the questions that are raised, these mostly being put forward by permanent officials, who never take the trouble to ask us what we are thinking on the matter; while many of the loudest talkers have been so long removed from the bench, or shop, that their acquaintance with our actual needs are second-hand.

That, however, is no reason for dismissing the proceedings of such Congresses as of no concern of ours, rather is it a reason why we should not only take a more active interest ourselves but encourage our mates to do the same. This we can do by taking up the most important matters raised at the Conference and discuss them amongst ourselves. It is better we should do that than take our opinions from the ordinary daily or weekly newspapers, which are generally interested in perverting the truth to our disadvantage.

But to be able to appreciate the arguments raised, and to give them justice, it is well that you should have a clear understanding of the purposes, or what we might call the foundations of the Labor movement. I don't know if it is necessary to refer to the absurd suggestion that is often circulated in what we call the

capitalist newspapers, viz., that the Labor movement is the work of agitators whose interests are wrapped up in self-aggrandisement. That in some instances there are such people is quite true. It is also probably true to say that no movement, whatever its denomination or character, can escape the poisonous influence of the type of person who always thinks of number one. But, not to insult your intelligence, while at the same time answering the charges, it is perhaps enough to say that while 50 or 500 people might be fooled for a time, it is absurd to think of a movement numbering 5,000,000 workers, not to speak of the millions in other countries, being maintained and carried on by deception. The "agitators" theory might be described by saying it is a false cry to side-track and divide us against each other, though whatever imposters may be found you would be well advised to give them their notice to quit.

Nor is the Labor movement a philanthropic or charitable institution, carried on by somebody outside ourselves who proposes to do something for us. I hope you have sufficient self-respect to spurn the thought, but you have probably met many of our fellows, as I have done, whose conception of the Labor movement was no higher than a benevolent society to which they might turn for help when in distress. With such people it is very difficult to make real progress since they are so self-possessed. Fortunately, however, there is a different type growing up in our ranks—a self-reliant and dignified type that takes its stand upon the right as workers to control the great forces of social life, which are made possible by our productive efforts in the mines, railways, factories and workshops. With such men and women

it is now clearly recognized that if we are to be free from the harassing conditions of present-day society, we must assert our rights as workers and clear out all who are not prepared to do some kind of social service on behalf of the community.

In other words, and despite the attempts of some of our so-called leaders to prove the contrary, it is becoming self-evident that the roots of our modern Labor movement lie in the economic relations of the classes.

You need not be alarmed at such phraseology, as the "economic relations of the classes." It simply means, that, thanks to our present arrangement of things, you and I, and the class to which we belong, are stripped of all property so far as the tools of wealth production are concerned and, consequently are dependent on another class (our employers) to obtain our living.

In the language of political economists we are the sellers of a particular article of merchandise—our labor-power—while our employers stand opposed to us as buyers. Such is briefly the actual relations of the classes.

It has become fashionable of late for some of our would-be advisers or leaders to discredit this great truth. They go out of their way to try and prove that we are not mere commodities. Putting aside ulterior motives what they really mean is that we, the workers, should not be treated, or bartered about, as so much raw material. What they evidently fail to see is, that a recognition of our commodity status in society does not imply our acceptance of it. Indeed, the basic object of the Labor movement, whether it is consciously recognized or not, is to destroy such a state of affairs as makes the bulk of mankind (the toiling masses) the slaves of the minority.

Despite all arguments to the contrary, the hard fact, that we are only looked upon today and treated as so much raw material for profit-making, forms the pivot of our working-class movement. All attempts to veneer it are doomed to failure. It will persist and be an influence for evil so long as we allow things to go on as they are, i.e., so long as we think our purpose in life is merely to work for wages and be content to leave others to do the "living."

Here, then, is where your responsibility comes in. Assuming you have made up your mind that life offers more than the mere prospect of working for wages that others might live in idleness and luxury; assuming also you are determined to make an end of this system, which compels us to combine in self-defence; you will agree that it is necessary to carry your mates with you. But to carry them with you implies an ability to convince them of the objects for which the Labor movement exists. Now it is quite possible you are deficient in that direction and feel you are not quite able to put up strong arguments. Should such be the case you have no need to despair. At the end of this month will begin the usual run of Social Science classes designed for such as you. If there is one in your district, you can not do better than enrol right away and get better acquainted with the scientific foundations of our working-class movement.

There is no better remedy for getting rid of the sentimental drivel that is often urged as a reason for our claims or demands, than a session of study in the principles of political economy, history, or sociology.

Above all it gives you that power which comes from knowledge, and without which we never can be free.

T. B.

## Labor Forces in the United States

IN view of the determined stand of the Steel Trust against any form of organization in the steel industry, even of so reactionary a job-trust as the A. F. of L., a determination which is backed by Financier Morgan, who congratulates Gary on his stand for Liberty, and enforced by all the naked brutality of the steel trust's private army, fully equipped to handle "mass action," "direct action," or any other form of "fool action"; in view, also, of the fear that this is the beginning of war on all unions, it is worth while glancing over the situation of Labor in the United States.

The increasing discontent, due to the pinching of the slave's allowance,

is responsible for much of the ferment we read of, such as the race riots, Boston riots, huge strikes and so forth, though the situation of labor is not at its worst yet, as can be seen by the fact that so many strikes are successful. This shows that a big reserve force of unemployed, is not yet in evidence.

Nevertheless, the stiffening resistance of the employers to the demands for higher wages, and the open campaign against unionism, carried on by such organizations as the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, is causing the more enlightened slaves to agitate for a more concentrated form of organization, able to call out whole communities at one

stroke, instead of seeing their regiments march into battle piece-meal, there to be smashed, when the reserve force of unemployed is large enough and hungry enough to scab. The O. B. U. agitation in the West, inside the A. F. of L., shows the influence of the Canadian move, and also the Australian, and of the Triple Alliance of Great Britain. This movement of an increasing section of labor is bitterly fought by the treacherous fakers controlling the A. F. of L., and it is not likely that their control will be broken until they demonstrate the incapacity of their machine to win or even handle such strikes as the one in Pennsylvania.

There are so-called industrial unions

in existence now, but of no great strength. Most notable are the I. W. W., and the W.I.L.U., children, both of the Socialist Labor Party, and the old Western Federation of Miners. Born in 1905, amid great hopes, the I. W. W. split in 1908, into the two above named groups. Both avow their adherence to the class struggle, and though both are recognized by the Third International, they are bitter rivals.

The greatest success of the I. W. W. has been among the migratory slaves of the West. This class of workers are responsible largely for the O. B. U. agitation inside the A. F. of L.

They are courageous fighters, and have suffered as few groups have for their beliefs. Many rebels have

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## LABOR'S FORCES IN THE U. S.

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been made through their activities; but owing to their repudiation of political action, and the centering on job demands, instead of the overthrow of the wage system, it can not be said that there are many educated revolutionists among them. Their persecution however, largely due to their anarchist tactics, which also brought about the 1908 split, has had the effect of making them think, and so we see sabotage being repudiated; and instead of raising chicken stealing to a principle, and bumming to a virtue, and the deifying of a patched pair of overalls, we find them in one of their latest leaflets, saying: "they are the only law abiding people," or words to such an effect.

The W. I. L. U., has never amounted to much. Its parent, the S. L. P., has always regarded it tenderly and boosted it, looking forward to the day when it would grow so strong that it would cast forth a political reflex in the shape of a revolutionary party, functioning in the legislative field, with its substantial industrial force behind it to back up the demands. Out of this, ultimately, was to blossom forth the new society of free people based on industrial representation. So far, the hope has been far from fulfillment, and the parent still exhorts the faithful to join up and be saved, whilst the child feebly staggers along sustained by hope and occasional large strikes, during which hundreds of members join, and as rapidly fall away afterwards. While nearer Marxian principles than the I. W. W., it has never had the "pep" or "go-get-it-ness" of the latter. Its adherents still proclaim they are the "only" genuine brand, all others being imitations and poor ones at that.

So industrially, all is chaos among the so-called organized portion of labor, whilst by far the largest number of the American proletariat has never been organized in any shape at all.

Politically claiming to represent labor, we have with us the S. L. P., the oldest existing revolutionary group. Since the passing of its brilliant defender De Leon, it has steadily declined. Its members consistently teach the need of independent political action by the workers, to be backed by the might of their industrial organization. The Third International recognized them as a party, and Lenin has stated that their theory of future society growing up on the basis of industrial unionism is identical with the Russian idea. Lately; since this became known, they have come more into the public eye. Up to 1900, they were a considerable factor in the labor world, but in that year, disgruntled elements split off and united with the Debs and Berger followers to form the Socialist Party of America.

This daughter made a most disgraceful exhibition of herself for 19 years, being notorious for the shameless way she dragged the family name in the mire. Recently, in September of this year, after long travail, she gave birth to twins, the Communist Party, and the Communist Labor Party. Of these, though both promise better than their parent, it may be remarked that both have factions present within them. The first-named is dominated by the Slavic

Federation, headed by Hourwich & Co. Being Russians, they conceive that no one can understand the needs of the hour like near relations of the Bolsheviks. Their platform and programme, adopted over the protest and vote of the Michigan group of delegates, (the clearest of the lot,) is a conglomeration of "Fraina phrases." Mass Action being the keynote.

The C. L. P. consists of "emotional Bol-she-viks," "Me too Reds," and some fairly well posted men of the Chas. H. Kerr school. Its platform shows the influence of the latter, and seems to be a compound of everything that sounds Red; being favorable to "Mass Action," "Direct Action," "W. I. L. U. Action," with a smear of Political Action to hold it together. The delegates at the late convention in Chicago were boiling with enthusiasm, but very few seemed to grasp the needs of the day.

Time alone will show us how these various elements will act.

On their platforms, there is no reason for two separate parties, such as the C. L. P., and the C. P. And if they both finally drop the "mass" stuff and stick to Industrial Unionism, why, they may both hie them back to grandma Socialist Labor Party. The difference is slight, and events may force it.

Crude immaturity is the prevailing feature of labor's political efforts. "They don't know where they're going, but they're on their way." Numerous labor parties are forming in various States along the lines of our time-honored fraud in John Bull Land.

In the State of Washington, what is called the Triple Alliance is causing quite a flurry, being a political combination of the Granger's, Railroad Welfare Leagues, and the Labor Federation. This Alliance is solicitous for the well-being of all classes, offers emancipation from all ills at \$4 per year dues, and a vote for a good man. Reform hacks who have ridden the old S. P. goat for years are flocking to be saviors of our class,—if there is enough in it for them, and generally speaking, Capital had better watch out or mighty Labor will spank it.

Eventually, we may look to see all these "labor bleeders" get together and form a National Party, with the poor old wrecked Socialist Party at the tail.

Through bitter experience with these political Tanlaes and Perunas, the workers will learn where their real interest lies. By then too, the chaos in the revolutionary end will have given way to an efficient up-to-date educational organizing machine; and from chasing Hiram Johnson, Rochdale Co-operatives, "Plumb-crazy" plans, Mine Nationalization, Mooney Defense Leagues, and so on down the long line of traps; the workers will certainly arrive at the point where as a class they will call for and enforce the "Abolition of the Wage's System."

The free-born but slave-living Americans will join with the rest of us in Marx's undying rallying cry: "Proletarians of all Countries Unite." We shall then win a world.

F. S. F.

Propaganda Meeting, at Empress Theatre, corner Gore Avenue and Hastings street, Sunday, 8 p.m. Doors open at 7:30 p.m.

## FROM THE REPORT OF LINCOLN STEFFENS OF THE BULLITT MISSION TO RUSSIA

THE fairness of the new system, as it works so far, has won over to it the working class and the poorer peasants. The well-to-do still complain, and very bitterly sometimes. Their hoardings are broken into by the government and by the poverty committees, and they are severely punished for speculative trading. But even these classes are moved somewhat by the treatment of children. They are in a class by themselves: class "A"—I. They get all the few delicacies—milk, eggs, fruit, game, that come to the government monopoly—at school, where they all are fed, regardless of class. "Even the rich children," they told us, "they have as much as the poor children." And the children, like the workers, now see the operas, too, the plays, the ballets, the art galleries—all with instructors.

The Bolsheviks—all the Russian parties—regard the communists' attitude toward children as the symbol of their new civilization.

"It is to be for the good of humanity, not business," one of them, an American, said, "and the kids represent the future. Our generation is to have only the labor, the joy, and the misery of the struggle. We will get none of the material benefits of the new system, and we will probably never all understand and like it. But the children—it is for them and their children that we are fighting, so we are giving them the best of it from the start, and teaching them to take it all naturally. They are getting the idea. They are to be our new propagandists."

And this is making Lenin and his sobered communist government ask for peace. They think they have carried a revolution through for once to the logical conclusion. All other revolutions have stopped when they had revolved through the political phase to political democracy. This one has turned once more clear through the economic phase to economic democracy; to self-government in the factory, shop, and on the land, and has laid a foundation for universal division of food, clothes and all goods, equally among all. And they think their civilization is working on this foundation. They want time to go on and build it higher and better. They want to spread it all over the world, but only as it works. As they told us when we reminded them that the world dreaded their propaganda:

"We are through with the old propaganda of argument. All we ask now is to be allowed to done here in Russia, that the new system is good. We are so sure we shall make good, that we are willing to stop saying so, to stop reasoning, stop the haranguing, and all that old stuff. And especially are we sick of the propaganda by the sword. We want to stop fighting. We know that each country must evolve its own revolution out of its own conditions and in its own imagination. To force it by war is not scientific, not democratic, not socialistic. And we are fighting now only in self-defence. We will stop fighting, if you will withdraw yours. We will demobilize. We need the picked organizers and the skilled workers now in the army for our shops, factories and farms. We would

love to recall them to all this needed work, and use their troop trains to distribute our goods and our harvests, if only you will call off your soldiers and your moral, financial and material support from our enemies, and the enemies of our ideals. Let every country in dispute on our borders self-determine its own form of government and its own allegiance.

"But you must not treat us as a conquered nation. We are not conquered. We are prepared to join in a revolutionary civil war all over all of Europe and the world, if this good thing has to be done in this bad way of force. But we would prefer to have our time and our energy to work to make sure that our young, good thing is good. We have proved that we can share misery and sickness and poverty; it has helped us to have these things to share, and we think we shall be able to share the wealth of Russia as we gradually develop it. But we are not sure of that; the world is not sure. Let us Russians pay the price of the experiment; do the hard, hard work of it; make the sacrifice—then your people can follow us, slowly, as they decide for themselves that what we have is worth having."

That is the message you bring back, Mr. Bullitt. It is your duty to deliver it. It is mine to enforce it by my conception of the situation as it stands in Russia and Europe today.

## SOVIET RUSSIA'S PEACE PROPOSALS

The following extracts taken from the Bullitt report to the Peace Conference, as published by the New York "Nation," of Oct. 4, will give our readers some idea as to the nature of that much discussed report.

LENIN seized upon the opportunity presented by my trip of investigation to make a definite statement of the position of the Soviet Government. He was opposed by Trotsky and the generals, but without much difficulty got the support of the majority of the executive council, and the statement of the position of the Soviet Government which was handed to me was finally adopted unanimously.

My discussion of this proposal with the leaders of the Soviet Government was so detailed that I feel sure of my ground in saying that it does not represent the minimum terms of the Soviet Government, and that I can point out in detail wherein it may be modified without making it unacceptable to the Soviet Government. For example, the clause under article 5—"and to their own nationals who have been or may be prosecuted for giving help to Soviet Russia"—is certainly not of vital importance. And the clause under article 4, in regard to admission of citizens of the Soviet Republics of Russia into the allied and associated countries, may certainly be changed in such a way as to reserve all necessary rights to control such immigration to the allied and associated countries, and to confine it to persons who come on legiti-

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## SOVIET RUSSIA'S PEACE PROPOSALS

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mate and necessary business, and to exclude definitely all possibility of an influx of propagandists.

### Conclusions.

The following conclusions are respectfully submitted:

1. No government save a Socialist Government can be set up in Russia today except by foreign bayonets, and any governments so set up will fall the moment such support is withdrawn. The Lenin wing of the communist party is today as moderate as any Socialist Government which can control Russia.

2. No real peace can be established in Europe or the world until peace is made with the revolution. This proposal of the Soviet Government presents an opportunity to make peace with the revolution on a just and reasonable basis—perhaps a unique opportunity.

3. If the blockade is lifted and supplies begin to be delivered regularly to Soviet Russia, a more powerful hold over the Russian people will be established than that given by the blockade itself—the hold given by fear that this delivery of supplies may be stopped. Furthermore, the parties which oppose the communists in principle but are supporting them at present will be able to begin to fight against them.

4. It is, therefore, respectfully recommended that a proposal following the general lines of the suggestion of the Soviet Government should be made at the earliest possible moment, such changes being made, particularly in article 4 and article 5, as will make the proposal acceptable to conservative opinion in the allied and associated countries.

Very respectfully submitted,  
WILLIAM C. BULLITT.

## FROM THE REPORT OF CAPT. W. PETTIT OF THE BULLITT MISSION

It is needless for me to tell you that most of the stories that have come from Russia regarding atrocities, horrors, immorality, are manufactured in Viborg, Helsingfors or Stockholm. The horrible massacres planned for last November were first learned of in Petrograd from the Helsingfors papers. That anybody could even for a moment believe in the nationalization of women seems impossible to anyone in Petrograd. Today Petrograd is an orderly city—probably the only city of the world of its size without police. Bill Shatov, chief of police, and I were at the opera the other night to hear Chaljapine sing in Boris Gudnov. He excused himself early because he said there had been a robbery the previous night, in which a man had lost 5000 rubles, that this was the first robbery in several weeks, and that he had an idea who had done it, and was going to get the men that night. I feel personally that Petrograd is safer than Paris. At night there are automobiles, sleighs, and people on the streets at 12 o'clock to a much great-

er extent than was true in Paris when I left five weeks ago.

Most wonderful of all, the great crowd of prostitutes has disappeared. I have seen not a disreputable woman since I went to Petrograd, and foreigners who have been there for the last three months report the same. The policy of the present government has resulted in eliminating throughout Russia, I am told, this horrible outgrowth of modern civilization.

Begging has decreased. I have asked to be taken to the poorest parts of the city to see how the people in the slums live, and both the communists and bourgeoisie have held up their hands and said, "But you fail to understand there are no such places." There is poverty, but it is scattered and exists among those of the former poor or of the former rich who have been unable to adapt themselves to the conditions which require everyone to do something.

Terrorism has ended. For months there have been no executions, I am told, and certainly people go to the theatre and church and out on the streets as much as they would in any city of the world.

## ASK "HUNS" TO BLOCKADE "REDS"

All Northern and Neutral Nations Requested to Assist Allies in Isolating Bolsheviki.

LONDON, Oct. 17.—The text of the note of the supreme council inviting Germany to participate in the blockade of Russia, as published by the Berlin Tageblatt and reprinted by the Daily Herald, shows that Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Finland, Spain, Switzerland, Mexico, Chile, Argentina, Colombia and Venezuela have been invited to initiate measures to prevent their nationals from engaging in any trade whatever with Bolsheviki Russia. The measures are thus enumerated:

1—Refusal of permission to sail to every ship bound for a Russian Bolsheviki port, and the closing of all ports to ships from Bolsheviki ports.

2—Similar regulations to be adopted with regard to all goods destined for Russian ports by another route.

3—Passports will be refused to all persons to or from Bolsheviki Russia. Isolated exceptions may be made by the allied powers.

4—Measures may be taken to hinder bankers from granting credit to commercial undertakings in Bolsheviki Russia.

5—Every government will refuse its nationals any facilities of intercourse with Bolsheviki Russia, whether by post or wireless telegraph.

6—Marshal Foch added the following instructions:

"Inform the German Government that the British and French men-of-war in the Gulf of Finland will continue to blockade Bolsheviki ports and detain from the moment they come in sight any supplies bound for Bolsheviki ports."

The preamble to the note declares that the open enmity of the Bolsheviki is directed against all governments and that programme of international evolution circulated by them constitute a grave danger to the national security of all the powers.

## Paying the Indemnity

NOW that the Kaiser and high commands of the Central Empires have been, and are not, and autocracy and its rapacious offspring are vanquished; the spirit of democracy graces our worn world with the bridal veil of liberty, shielding its peoples and binding all nations with the kindred tie of self-determination, while the much vaunted chickens of peace and prosperity are returning to their accustomed roosting places.

At any rate, the Western nations, after their great and self-imposed task of safeguarding the world for democracy, are now preparing the time sheet of indemnity. The "great, free" nations seem determined to compel the broken tyrant to pay for his pillage and spoliation, which indicates, that that country is to be literally "swallowed up in victory." Still as the old saw goes, "appearances are deceptive," and in this particular case, with the addition of "super." For, while it is easy to prepare the bill, the collection thereof, will be a horned animal of another color.

So far as the indemnity lists are now prepared, it is evident that payment can not be made in gold, since there is not enough gold in existence to do so, and of the total, but a "feeble remnant" remains in Germany. If the indemnity, therefore, is to be paid, it can only be paid in commodities. But Germany, in common with all other countries, does not possess commodities either. They have to be produced, and they can only be produced by the operation of industry, having freedom of access to the raw materials of production. Without the freedom, and without this industry, the advent of commodities, no indemnity. From which it would appear that the tighter the idealists of our redeemed democracies draw the economic cordon around their late foes, the more impossible it becomes for them to collect the shekels of reparation. And on the other hand, if they do not make those economic lines stringent, they will have fought "for freedom" in vain; their trade supremacy will be shaken; their necessary expansion impossible; degeneracy inevitable. A somewhat disappointing outlook, after four years of "holy warring," and with the Bolsheviki dragon looming up more threatening than the double-headed eagle, which has just been destroyed.

Again, supposing Germany should produce commodities for indemnities, those goods must find a market, and whether this market is found, directly in the countries affected, or in debtor countries, the nations collecting this commodity indemnity, must

### RUSSIAN VIEW OF BLOCKADE

LONDON, Oct. 22.—A wireless despatch received from Moscow says that the Bolsheviki foreign minister, Tchitcherin, has notified the German government that participation by Germany in a blockade against Russia, as has been requested by the entente, will be regarded as a deliberate act of hostility. The foreign minister expresses the hope that Germany will reply to the Allied request by an emphatic refusal to acquiesce.

necessarily limit, or suspend industrial operations to that extent. Because, owing to the mighty expansion of greater industry, and the capitalization of nearly all countries, the world market has become so contracted, that it is actually impossible for all countries to "sell" the vast surplus exploited from slave industry. Yet, this is exactly what those nations can not afford to do, for with an increased debt, demanding an increased volume of production to meet the liabilities, the insistent pressure of the productive forces, likewise for expansion, and the continuous social demand for the necessities of life, suspension, or even limitation of industrial activities, mean speedy and complete collapse of capital. That is the capitalist side of the picture. Let us leave him to puzzle it out, while we glance at the vastly more important aspect of the situation as it reacts upon the producing class.

Contrary to general belief, the capitalist class, of itself, possesses nothing, creates nothing, garners nothing, actively or potentially; its function merely being the exploitation of the producing class, the only real wealth in existence. It follows that the capitalist class can not pay indemnities in any form, having nothing wherewith to "pay." It can only exchange wealth, appropriated from the slave class, with the capitalist class of other countries. This wealth is the necessities of life, produced solely by the working class, consequently only from the working class can any indemnity, or reparation, or restitution be extracted.

Time and time again, has the "free" press stated that the war was waged, not against the German people, but to crush autocracy; the autocracy of the Central Powers, "who warred on the world for their own glory." Yet now that autocracy is defeated, its first representative in exile; its war machine broken; the German producing class is to be compelled by the idealist democrats of the west, to furnish indemnities for a war, not of their seeking, neither of their making, nor to their interest, clearly the idealists, have over-reached themselves—or us. Clearly the result to the producing class is the same whether autocracy of "democracy" is triumphant. Clearly there is a gentleman of color somewhere in the vicinity.

The capitalist class, by virtue of political supremacy, owns and controls the means of life necessary to society. The working class, by virtue of its ignorance, tolerates this political ownership, in order to maintain its life, is compelled to labor for the capitalist class, on terms favorable to the interests of that class. Capitalist production, being for profit only, industry is in operation alone when that profit is obtainable. This profit, is the surplus which the workers produce over and above wages and operating expenses, and unless this surplus is "sold," (exchanged) on the world market, no profit derives from it.

By means of machinery, the productive capacity of the working class is vastly increased, and in conse-

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## The Indicator

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**F**OR the time being, organized labor and organized capital in the United States appear to be at a deadlock on matters vital, at least to organized labor, in its struggle for better conditions of work and higher wages. The labor

### BOLTING LABOR

group in the Industrial Conference in Washington, D. C., bolts, in defiant mood, from the conference. The United Mine Workers have formally rejected the terms of the proposal of Secretary of Labor Wilson, to call off the coal strike, announced for November 1. The Steel Workers' strike in Pennsylvania, so far, has brought no settlement. The executive of the American Federation of Labor has at last, by some means, been forced into announcing that the organization will guarantee its moral and financial support to aid the Steel Strikers in enforcing their demands for collective bargaining. In addition, the Railroad Brotherhoods have announced radical demands on the regulation and control of their department of industry, demands which are anathema to the individualistic soul of the American capitalist. And on all hands, whether around the conference table in the national capital, or in convention, or local meetings, there is displayed an antagonism of labor to capital which bodes ill for the get-together movement.

To the Socialist, there is satisfaction in watching many repudiators of the essential conflict of interest between capital and labor exemplifying its truth by their actions. Of them we may justifiably say: "It is not of him that willeth or of him that runneth, but of the mercy of superior economic powers."

For example, examine the personal of the labor group to the National Industrial Conference. The "sane-ness" of its most prominent members is, in "well informed" circles, considered beyond dispute. The capitalist press, itself, has for years exalted them in our eyes, crowned them, as to other unmentionables in the labor movement, as polaric exemplars of moderation and of wise and statesman-like leadership. Their "sane-ness" and moderation we never doubted. God Wot! 'Twas tepid as the left over dregs in last night's cup to our new morning's thirst. As to their wisdom and statesmanship, we doubted it: we doubt it yet.

How come these master manipulators of political machinery, these professional standpatters, these easeful time servers and flabby compromisers, to be galvanized into taking on the rigorous, blustering aspect of war: and the remainder of the lesser known of this labor group also, hand-picked with anxious care from the conservative wing of the organized labor movement? To think of them as they were known before the conference,

## PIECE-WAGES

**W**AGES themselves take many forms, but the two fundamental forms are time-wages and piece-wages. As all expenditure of energy or power can only be measured by a unit measure of time, it follows that the products themselves of an expenditure of energy can only reach a fundamental estimation on the same basis. Thus wages by the piece are only a converted form of wages by time. In industry, where both forms of wages prevail, the practice proves the truth of the theory.

In piece-wages it seems at first sight as if the labor-power bought from the laborer was, not the function of his labor-power, but labor already realized in the product.

Let us take the considerations of Marx on this matter. "The quality of the labor (of piece-wages) is here controlled by the work itself, which must be of average perfection if the piece price is to be paid in full.

the soulful harmonizing pacifists might well sigh happily, "now cometh our millennium dawn!" The sane statesmen of labor and sane statesmen of capital at last were sitting. Charley and his crew, Sammy and his mob, cheek by jowl, familiar elbows on the same table, what time the dove of peace broods o'er the friendly concourse like a benediction.

But alas, for human hopes and human frailties. Scarcely the opening address closed, when out the window flies the volatile symbolic fowl. And sane labor leaders and sane capitalists, day after day, glare, impotently raging, across the table at each other, grow purple in face, spit venom, draw further and further apart, harden flint-like their antagonisms—till finally, labor also flies the room, protesting, stridently vehement.

Some one was unreasonable! Alas, friends! What though human reason is our noblest faculty and worthy of all honor, it can not wear away or dissolve into nothingness the adamant fact: "Between the working class and the capitalist class there is an irrepressible and irreconcilable conflict of interests."

It is an order of being: it is a law of life, that there can be no peace where parasite and host, where exploiter and exploiter find lodgment together. Would you have Peace? Then abolish parasitism!

The material goods of social well-being are the products of useful social labor, mental and physical. All knowledge is a social product, and all capacities. There is no biological difference between the child of the laborer and the child of his exploiter. Labor, under economic pressure and the advance of general knowledge, is becoming more and more conscious of these facts, and is groping towards a new organization of society, whose method of distribution will be a recognition of them, based on them.

The broad, general movement of labor sweeps all along in its current, progressives and reactionaries, Reds and Whites. Sam Gompers, etc., are caught up in the tide, and, though they would like to stem it, primarily, they are more interested in saving themselves from being submerged. They will do anything to keep on top.

Piece-wages become, from this point of view, the most fruitful source of reduction of wages and capitalistic cheating.

"They furnish to the capitalist an exact measure for the intensity of labor. Only the working-time which is embodied in a mass of commodities determined before hand, and experimentally fixed, counts as socially necessary working time and is paid as such."

"Since the quality and intensity of the work are controlled by the form of wage itself, superintendence of labor becomes in great part superfluous. Piece-wages therefore lay the foundation . . . of a hierarchically organized system of exploitation and oppression. The latter has two fundamental forms. On the one hand, piece-wages facilitate the interposition of parasites between the capitalist and the wage laborer, the 'sub-letting of labor.' The gain of these middle-men comes entirely from the difference between the labor price which the capitalist pays, and the part of the price which they actually allow to reach the laborer.

On the other hand, piece-wages allows the capitalist to make a contract with the chief of some group . . . at a price for which the head laborer himself undertakes the enlisting and recruiting and payment of his assistant work people. The exploitation of the laborer by capital is here affected through the exploitation of the laborer by the laborer.

"Given piece-wage, it is naturally the personal interest of the laborer to strain his labor-power as intensely as possible; this enables the capitalist to raise more easily the normal degree of intensity of labor. It is, moreover, now the personal interest of the laborer to lengthen the working day. . . . This gradually brings on a reaction." (An expansion of working time always tends to bring a fall in the price of labor-power by the time unit.) If one man does the work of one and one-half or two men, the supply of labor increases, although the supply of labor-power on the market remains constant. The competition thus created between the laborers allows the capitalist to beat down the price of labor, whilst the falling price of labor allows him, on the other hand, to screw up still further the working time.

"In time-wages with few exceptions, the same wages holds for the same kind of work, whilst in piece-wages, though the working time is measured by a certain quantity of the product, the day's or week's wages will vary with the individual differences . . . of skill, strength, energy, staying power, etc., of the laborers. Of course this does not alter the general relations between capital and wage-labor. First the individual differences balance one another in the workshop as a whole, which thus supplies in a given working time, the average product, and the total wages paid in that particular branch of industry. Second, the proportion between wages and surplus value remains unaltered, since the mass of surplus labor supplied by each particular laborer corresponds with the wage received by him. But the wider scope that piece-wage gives to "individuality, and with it the sense of liberty, independence, and self-control of the

## Questions and Answers

### WHAT IS WEALTH?

**W**EALTH, in the broad, general sense may be said to be all those things which are useful to man. These would include the soil, air and sunlight.

However, the science of political economy concerns itself with the laws governing the production and distribution of wealth, and so wealth in this sense means only those use-values which also have exchange value, the amount of which we express in monetary terms. Exchange values are products of labor. Marx, in his opening sentence of the first volume of Capital, states: "The wealth of those societies in which the capitalist mode of production prevails presents itself as an immense accumulation of commodities."

### WHAT IS MONEY?

Gold is the only real money, all other money is token money or else promises to pay.

It is the universal measure of value.

The standard of price.

The universal equivalent.

A medium of circulation.

A means of deferred payment.

In countries where the gold standard prevails (the exceptions are few) gold is the only real money, and is universal equivalent. All other mediums of circulation are tokens, promises to pay, etc.

The first chief function of money is to act as a measure of value. This it does by virtue of being itself a store of value, that is, it is a product of labor.

It also acts as a medium of circulation. For this purpose token money and bank notes may, and do take the place of gold of which they are the symbols. As a medium of circulation, money helps the transfer of commodities from hand to hand and so did away with the primitive method of barter.

Gold is a Standard of price. That is, the values of all commodities are expressed in gold prices. Price is the monetary expression of value.

"As measure of value and standard of price, money has two entirely distinct functions to perform. It is the measure of value inasmuch as it is the socially recognized incarnation of human labor; it is the standard of price inasmuch as it is a fixed weight of metal. As a measure of value, it serves to convert the values of all the manifold commodities into prices, into imaginary quantities of gold; as the standard of price it measures those quantities of gold. (Marx, p. 110, vol. 1.)

A dollar is a fixed weight of metal of a certain fineness. The Government stamp on the dollar guarantees these qualities in the coin.

Money serves as a means of deferred payment. The sale of a commodity may take place and consumption totally or in part take place before payment is made, as in the renting of a house and other credit transactions.

laborers, on the other hand it develops their competition with one another. Piece-work has therefore, a tendency, while raising individual wages above the average to lower this average itself."

## Consideration of the Term "Capital"

THAT period of history known as "Capitalism may be considered from a variety of points of view. All of them related, of course, as being aspects of one organic whole and forming a historical process in which we have a development:

(1) From handicraft to the complex modern industrial processes.

(2) From individual to social production involving the greatest possible co-operation and division of labor.

(3) From the individual workshop to the factory and from the tool, which may be defined as an implement used by the hand of man, to the machine, which is a tool driven by some natural force such as wind, steam or electricity.

(4) From production of commodities for a market at first purely local, then national and ultimately world-wide.

(5) From a stage in which the prime motive was the earning of a livelihood to one in which the object is to obtain profits on investment.

(6) From the use of money as a means of exchange—"money economy"—to the almost universal use of credit—"credit economy."

(7) From a stage where property rights rest on actual possession to one where they are a matter of mere ownership resting on the possession of credit documents of one kind or another.

In accordance with these changes, the concept "capital" has varied from time to time and this is reflected in the varying definitions which have been given to this term.

The early economists, living in a time when handicraft and petty manufacture was the rule. When the tool could be individually owned, when the market was limited in extent and when the use of credit in industry was not usual and, if anything, a reprehensible practice, evolved, under the influence of the current philosophy, a system of economies in which it was considered that, given the natural rights of life, liberty, property and contract, the operation of natural laws would bring about the happiness and well-being of every member of society—according to their deserts, of course. According to this system, exchanges of commodities took place at "market prices" which fluctuated round the "natural price," based on the quantity of labor involved in the production of the commodities concerned. By the way, I have, at times, the greatest difficulty in exorcising a lurking suspicion that we are still haunted by an attenuated survival of this last concept.

Under these conditions, "Capital" presented itself in a simple form as being the raw material, tools and sustenance for the laborers and "laboring cattle" engaged in production. It was further evident, inasmuch as the raw materials and tools were the products of previous processes, that the capital used was mere-

ly a matter of the sustenance of the laborers. All of which resolved itself into the statement that: **Capital is stored-up wealth used for the production of more wealth.**

In the meantime, another concept of Capital was growing up in the popular mind. The possibility of an income from interest on money lent on mortgage had existed for ages and this was supplemented by the issue of shares and stock by the various merchant companies formed for the exploitation of foreign trade, such as the East India, the South Seas, the Mississippi and other trading companies. Capital, then, came to be looked on as that portion of wealth which brought an income to its possessor.

This conception of capital still persists, and with good reason, inasmuch as, while not strictly accurate, it is clear enough for ordinary purposes, and is much more useful and enlightening than that first given which, for reasons of their own, the professional economists are still mumbling along with other survivals of the same epoch.

The earlier Socialists very naturally adopted this definition. It lent itself to a form of reasoning something like this:

(1) It is a fact that a yearly income accrues from capital without any decrease in the amount invested.

(2) It is also a fact that the goods or money invested can not of themselves yield an increase.

(3) It can not be shown that any surplus can possibly arise in the process of exchange.

Therefore, it was argued, the income realized must be the result of the labor of some person or persons who are obviously not receiving the full value of their product. That is to say that profit and interest are the result of a process of exploitation and that "Capital" is wealth used for such a purpose.

It is in this last sense that the term capital was at first understood by Marx, and it later became, in his hands, the culminating point in that series of phases assumed by the product of labor in his system, that is, value-form, commodity-form, money-form and capital-form. These various forms, in the Marxian doctrine, result from and are the manifestations of certain social relationships. Let us hear Marx himself:

"Now capital also is a social relation of production. It is a bourgeois relation of production, a condition of the production of a bourgeois society. Are not the means of subsistence, the implements of labor, and the raw material, of which capital consists, the results of definite social relations; were they not produced and stored up under certain social conditions? Will they not be used for further production under certain social conditions within definite social relations? And is it not just this definite social character that transforms into capital that product which serves for further production?"

In the next issue, I hope to trace the development of this particular concept in recent economies.

GEORDIE.

## The Evolution of Property

THE evolution of property from the breaking down of common tribal property into collective property in land owned by the clan, or patriarchal family and finally to the alienable private property of today, has been an extremely slow process. Agriculture was the determinant cause of the parcelling out of common tribal property and was more over one of the causes of the splitting up of collectivist property. In proportion as improved methods of culture were introduced, the peasants recognized that one year's possession was insufficient to reap the benefits of manures and labor incorporated with the lands that had been allotted to them. They demanded that the partitions, hitherto annual, should in future take place every two, three, seven and even twenty years. Here we see the entering wedge of private property in land. Professor Jenks in his "Short History of Politics" has this to say of the custom of this short tenure of land system: "Observe, in the first place, the man may only use the land for agriculture. It is true, that one of the first real social results of agriculture was to substitute the wooden house for the herdsman's tent; and the farmer was allowed to build himself a house in the village, and to inhabit it per-

manently. Also he was allowed to enclose a little toft or garden space, and a croft or meadow, both near his house, for the supply of his family and domestic animals. But the bulk of "his" land (if we may call it so), he had still not only to plough and reap, but also to plough and reap in the regular way at fixed times. If he had not, his fellow villagers would have complained. If he had attempted, for example, to keep cattle and sheep in his strips, he would have ruined their crops; and he would likewise have incurred the jealousy of those members of the clan who still longed for broad pastures, and who regarded the new practice of agriculture with dislike. The world's history is full of this quarrel, from the days when patri-cians and plebians in Rome fought over the State lands, to the days when the squatters, (sheep farmers) of Australia, were at loggerheads with the selectors, (agriculturists) over a precisely similar question.

### No Alienation.

"Again, the farmer had his house and land, but he might not sell them. The agricultural village of primitive times was a very "close" thing. No strangers could get a footing in it, at least without the unanimous consent

of the village. And the members of the clan would not want to buy lands, because they could get them for nothing."

But a degree of inequality crept into the primitive families: It would happen that to one family fell an undue share of allotments: that others, in order to discharge their debts, were compelled to relinquish the enjoyment of their lots, and everywhere as the various countries emerged into feudalism, the communal lands were turned into the property of the feudal lords.

### Action of the State.

Professor Jenks puts it very mildly when he says: "But the appearance of the State combined, no doubt, with economic influences, accomplished the final stage in the evolution of property. The results of its policy may be said to be two-fold. It created a landlord class, and it dissolved the village community.

### Landlordism.

"One of the earliest measures of the State was, to plant its representatives in the various localities of its territory, for the purposes of exacting tribute, levying soldiers, and maintaining order. We may be fairly sure that, when the State made their appointments, it had no clear intention of converting the districts entrusted to its representatives into property. When the crown at the present day appoints a man Collector of Customs at the Port of Liverpool, or Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Surrey, it does not make him owner of the soil on which Liverpool stands, or of the County of Surrey. In the language of early times, it was lordship the State meant to confer, not property.

### Inheritance.

"But this lordship tended to ripen into property. . . . And the class which began as revenue collectors, and local maintainers of order, has become owners of the soil."

Professor Jenks might have added to the above, with all truthfulness: Not alone by inheritance and "old use and wont" did the landlord class obtain control of the common lands, but also by fraud and the most terrible violence.

At this point, property in land has reached the stage of evolution when it may be alienated, or, in other words, bought and sold.

### EDUCATIONAL CLASSES

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# Capitalism and Counter-Revolution

A Series of Six Articles.

This series of articles by Walton Newbould are taken from a pamphlet published by the Workers' Socialist Federation, 400 Old Ford Road, London, E3. Price 3d. (Editor, "The Indicator.")

## EXPLANATORY FOREWORD.

This pamphlet is largely a reprint of four articles which appeared in the "Workers' Dreadnought" in the Autumn of 1918, and which were written about six weeks prior to the German Revolution and the signing of the Armistice. Hence, a number of the references may appear to be out of date; others may make clearer the reasons for the failure of the Spartacus movement to bring off their counterpart of the November Revolution in Russia. The purpose of the compilation of the four articles, together with a lengthy addendum, as a pamphlet is to give permanence and further publicity to a Marxist examination of certain important issues of immediate and practical significance that have been given all too little attention by the revolutionary elements in this country.

London, June, 1919. J. T. W. N.

## II.

IN the last article I endeavored to show how the peculiar political conditions which history bequeathed to the German people combined with their economic evolution to make their revolutionary movement political rather than industrial in its formation and objective. I suggested that what was more probable than an immediate working-class upheaval in Germany was a shifting of the political institutions now in existence there by the capitalist class, who might very well dethrone the Hohenzollerns, overthrow the evident rule of the Junkers, and replace the military caste by a civil bureaucracy, in theory responsible to a democratic parliament.

This "democratization of Germany," this "destruction of Prussian militarism," would undoubtedly meet with the entire approval of those capitalist elements that now control the affairs of Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, and that are now endeavoring to re-establish a monarchy in Russia, but along constitutional lines. This is the revolutionary change which certain Americans desire to bring about in the government of the Central Powers and would welcome in Japan. The war for the idealists of capitalist democracy is the completion of their task of human emancipation, of world liberation. They really hope, and expect, to extend over the whole world the political system appropriate to the regime of capital. They are fighting, amongst other things, to extirpate feudalism and the economic and political power which springs from the hereditary tenure of land. Kings, Kaisers, and the whole aristocracy of lords of the soil are to be swept away, and the world made secure for the superior persons who own and manipulate capital. The capitalist class considers itself the expression of all that is fittest to survive and to flourish over the whole face of creation. Like the feudalists of land, the would-be possessors of absolute property in capital deem themselves to be the trustees of mankind. In days gone by, the capitalists were weak and struggling. Then they were a revolutionary force, the pioneers of a new heaven and a new earth. They were to a great extent cosmopolitans, advocates of free exchange, free contract, free institutions. What this really meant was that they were hos-

tile to the institutions, laws, and customs of landlordism and feudalism. They were class-conscious and, as they did not control the power of the State, they were not enthusiastic supporters of either its domestic, its financial, or its foreign policy. Now that the capitalists of Western democracy have gained control of the State power, they are directing it to serve their class interests. Over against them in Central Europe is their most deadly enemy—a union of property systems welded into a feudal capitalism, armed to the teeth, and supported by an enlightened monarchist regime. America faces Germany and around these great protagonists are grouped their political "allies," their economic vassal states. The two mighty capitalist countries, the two most highly developed productive organizations of the world, are battling first and foremost for the market of Asia and for the labor power of 1,000,000,000 potential wage-slaves. If they can control the services of these, the capitalists of America and Germany will not mind what political "sovereignty" they acknowledge, what flag they salute, what Empire "owns" them.

The capitalists do not desire "annexations" of land; what they mean to seize is labor-power. Because the feudalists have dominated government so long, because in the making of wars and treaties their law and their language have found expression, we talk of "annexations" and mean thereby transfers of land. Today, however, in the proportion that the capitalist influence predominates over the landlord, the motive of conquest is the annexation of labor-power and of opportunities to apply it to natural resources.

Up-to-date, the German politico-economic system has had greater success than the mutually jealous, conflicting, and distrustful partnership of capitalist democracies, and the world has seemed to be threatened with a revival of feudal dominion. This menace, to the writer's mind, has always been far more apparent than real, and to him it has been far more apparent than real, and to him it has been evident that sooner or later the material superiority of the Allies must tell. When feudalism begins to fail German capitalism, that element enormously stimulated by the demand for its products during war-time, will desert Kaiserism and do all in its power to save itself from ruin. With the prospect of world-power being entirely shut off, German capitalism will not choose to go down to ruin with German junkerdom. Neither will the capitalists in the Allied countries pursue a policy calculated to complete the debacle of private property in Central Europe. By "the rule of public right and order," the diplomats of political democracy do not mean Bolshevik Socialism.

When the danger of German world-dominion disappears the "Never Endians" will not be able to continue the war very long, because the destruction of militarism in Prussia will then become far less urgent than the holding down of the proletarian masses, who, in every land, are threatening to rise in revolt and sweep what capitalist politicians call "law and order, public right, and civil govern-

ment" into the limbo of things forgotten.

At the present juncture it is doubtful whether peace would not injure the Russian Revolution and thereby, of course, harm the prospects of the Revolution all over the world. Lenin, far-sighted and resolute to achieve a world revolt against international capitalism, was no supporter of the Stockholm business. He believes—and with that view I myself, since my conversion to Marxism, have been in accord—that it is to our interest as Socialists that the Imperialist Powers should mutually destroy each other. For that reason I hailed the entry of the United States into the war.

The continuance of the war is producing spontaneous outbursts of revolt in every country. It is driving the governing classes to renewed efforts of reaction. It is spurring them on to increase the rate of exploitation until it becomes more and more unbearable. It is dragging the whole population into the industrial and, probably yet, into the conscript systems. It is destroying the middle class and private enterprise. It is identifying the State more and more with the exploiting class. It is breeding new industrial expressions of working-class action to take the place of officialized trade unions and atrophied political institutions.

(To Be Continued)

## TRIAL COMMENCES EARLY NEXT MONTH

Word was received from Winnipeg on Tuesday that the men arrested as a result of the Winnipeg strike on the charge of seditious conspiracy are to be tried at the beginning of the Assizes, the first week in November, instead of the latter end, as was anticipated. This rushing of the cases will mean renewed efforts on the part of the workers to raise the necessary funds, and to carry on the propaganda that is necessary to give the people the true information as to the situation at Winnipeg. The local defense committee has some \$2000 on hand, but much more than this will be needed. Branches of the defense committee have been started at Victoria, Cumberland and Prince Rupert on the coast, and many other places in the interior. It is now up to the workers to get busy and raise the money necessary in order that the men who were willing, and did the bidding of the rank and file, shall have justice done them. This is a working class fight and all the workers should be interested. Don't let George do it, get in and do your bit.—B. C. Federationist.

## LABOR DEFENCE FUND

Send all money and make all cheques payable to A. S. Wells, B. C. Federationist, Labor Temple, Vancouver, B. C.

Collection agency for Alberta: A. Broatch, 1203 Eighth avenue east, Calgary, Alta.

Central Collection Agency: J. Law, Secretary, Defence Fund, Room 1, 530 Main street, Winnipeg.

Because of discrimination against contributors, whose names have been published as sending in moneys for the Defence Fund, acknowledgment in future will be made by mail.

Lawyers for the defence in Vancouver, Bird, Macdonald & Earle.

## PAYING THE INDEMNITY

(Continued from Page Three)

quence, surplus accumulates; the market is glutted; no exchange can be effected; no profit is forthcoming; and industrial activity ceases. But social forces compel the master class to find markets for its goods at any cost, thereby forcing the capitalist class rulers of one nation, into commercial and political conflict with the similar rulers of another nation; and if diplomacy can not settle the matter of necessity in the interests of one of those conflicting groups, resort is had to force,—war,—the loser, becomes a back number in world commerce, while the victor imposes restrictions on the industrial operations of its vanquished rival.

Capitalists do not recognize countries or boundaries. They recognize only rivals in trade; and any method by which the trade of the rival can be checked or blocked, will find acceptance with the opposing power. Indemnity is, (or used to be) when commerce was yet young, one of those methods, a method whereby the conqueror exploits the industry of its subjugated rival. But because of the great expansion of industry, and the social nature of production, the whole world has become interlocked in interest, interdependent in method and means of production, and therefore the conditioning of indemnity on one country becomes impossible, because of its adverse effect on the industry of the power that would impose it.

Finally, the exploitation of industry means the exploitation of the producing class of the world. It is not the ruling class that is responsible for indemnities, but the workers who create values, and receive no value in return. Capitalist ownership of the means of life, makes the working class slaves and so long as the slaves recognize not their slave position and overthrow the political supremacy of their masters, indemnity is a matter of no importance to them. The producing class continually yields indemnity to the master class, the entire value of its labor, and must continue to do so, irrespective of nation or color, race or sex. Abolish capital, and establish the social commonwealth, and wars and indemnities, and most of the problems today facing society will disappear, since the cause which occasions them, shall have been eliminated. R.

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## Slavery

(From the "Socialist Standard.")

WHEN the average working man hears the word "slavery" a picture usually flashes across his mind of a black man working with a gang on a plantation in some far-distant land, with the cruel whip of the overseer continually applied to his dusky back to urge him on to greater efforts. Perhaps our "free" worker recalls having seen in childhood, the magic lantern pictures that tell the story of the famous "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Then he shrugs his shoulders and thanks God he was not born a nigger.

Slavery in various forms has existed from the remote past—since the origin of private property (during barbaric times.) Has slavery ceased with the growth of the great "democratic" States of today? To answer this question it is necessary to enquire a little closer as to what slavery really is.

A slave is one who is compelled to work the whole or part of his time for another. The chattel-slave gives up all his time, the bond-slave a part.

Thus the Romans put foreigners captured in war to work in mines, in their houses, and on their lands. The pious pilgrim fathers of North America bought negroes for rum, and sold them to the Southern planters.

Although the Roman slave and the negro slave were acquired bodily and for life, they were not taken for the good of their health, nor out of charity; they were taken to work for their respective masters, and their lives were only of worth to the masters as long as they could work, as the fearful annals of slavery show only too clearly.

The era of purchasing a slave bodily as a chattel, or binding him for a definite period, as a serf, has passed away, but has the era of slavery passed also?

We are told by politicians of various shades of opinion that in the past people were wicked and enslaved their fellow beings, but that now things are very different—we are a free people. The writer of these lines, who is one of the "free" people has a weakness for sunny slopes, shady trees, and cool, country breezes these warm days, but so soon as he commences to make plans for a trip to Arcadia his freedom has a disagreeable habit of vanishing. If he goes away (that is if he can raise the wind!) he will lose his job, for employers won't allow workmen to play fast and loose with their jobs. There is always somebody outside the gate whom hunger will drive to forego holidays in order to keep the job.

If we can't get jobs we must starve, and if we are caught starving, we are likely to be jailed for not having "visible means of subsistence"—this appears to be rather a curious form of freedom!

All around us are vast factories, and workshops of various descriptions, in which we—who are called the working class—work. We are given a job at the will of somebody else, and sacked at his will. We depend for our existence on obtaining work, as we possess nothing with which to obtain the necessities of life, and consequently depend upon

the sale of our working power. We are, therefore, in a state of dependence upon those who give us work.

Those who give us work are, the owners of the vast works already alluded to. We are the slaves of the employing class.

Through owning all the means of production the employers compel us to work under the conditions they lay down, and we must abide by these conditions or starve. The only way we can escape capitalism is by getting off the earth.

Our form of slavery, wage-slavery, is in some respects worse than previous forms. The buyer of a chattel slave generally found it to his advantage to feed and house the slave well; a well-fed slave was capable of working harder, and lived longer, than an ill-fed one. He was property, the same as a horse, and his death meant a fresh outlay to buy another. In the case of the wage-slave it is different. His power to work is purchased in many cases from hour to hour, in some instances from week to week, but in comparatively few cases for longer periods. If he is ill or dies it does not matter to the employer, as he has only bought certain amounts of labor-power, which he never pays for until it has been expended in his factory, field, mine, workshop, office or the like. Therefore he loses nothing by the death of his wage thrall, and the labor-power of other men will do just as well to continue the work. There are always plenty to fill vacant jobs, as discharged and demobilized soldiers are learning to their cost.

Philanthropists and labor leaders put before you various propositions as means to ameliorate your lot, but very little examination will show you that anything short of the overthrow of capitalism leaves you as you are—a wage-slave.

So long as capitalism lasts, the laws governing it will last. Under capitalism the workers' labor-power is bought and sold on the market the same as any other commodity, and is therefore amenable to commodity laws. It is a matter of experience that there is always an over supply of workers, and consequently wages on an average rule at the lowest cost of subsistence—i.e., the lowest on which a worker can live, reproduce his kind, and do the particular class of work required.

No reforms can touch this position—the laws of capitalism nullify reforms.

We are slaves and will remain slaves as long as we allow the employing class to rob us of the products of our toil.

We, the working class, produce all the wealth of the world, but the capitalist or employing class own it, through their ownership of the powers of production. Therefore to obtain our freedom we must overthrow capitalism, i.e., modern private ownership, and substitute common ownership.

Capitalism only exists with your consent. You give this consent at election time by voting the capitalists into power. Withhold your consent, i.e., vote yourselves into power, and capitalism will give place to Socialism.

So long as you vote for capitalism you are unfit for Socialism—you are not class-conscious.

Confusionist bodies of various kinds may increase their following in various ways by compounding in

## Determinism

More than a decade ago Robert Blatchford, by writing his determinist book, "Not Guilty," in defence of the outcast created an immense excitement in Great Britain. Though the subject of "Free Will" versus "Determinism" is centuries old, it was the unusual simplicity and clearness with which he treated the question that caused thousands for the first time to see and feel the True Light with consequences to themselves not far short of those from which Paul of old is alleged to have suffered on that famous occasion of his conversion upon the Damascus road.

Determinism, of course, means a denial that the human will is free and unimpelled. In consequence, it means a denial that any person, strictly speaking, is morally responsible for what they do, and therefore, can not be held capable of sinning against God or being worthy of celestial rewards. We trace the determinist belief in the Bible, in Jeremiah X, 23—"O Lord, I know the way of man is not in himself; it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps;" and in the hundredth Psalm—"It is he that hath made us and not we ourselves." The poet Pope in his "Essay on man" declares that, "An honest man's the noblest work of God," which means that the man himself had nothing to do with his own honesty. From Omar Khayyam onwards, thousands of eminent men adhere to the principle of human non-accountability. So difficult, however, is this problem, that there are today millions who can not be convinced of the anti-free will position. It is indeed wonderful to reflect that no civilized peoples now hold that the earth is flat, nor that it does not move around the sun, and yet it is so difficult for them to grasp the fact of determinism as regards one of the minute human-beings that people this planet.

The anti-determinists admit that in nature, nothing happens without a cause; but they hold that the laws of nature do not apply to the (human) soul, because that is a part of the Sovereign Power that rules nature. But the truth is that if they deny determinism to souls, those peo-

ple lower themselves to the level of Fetich-worshipping savages. When the child falls against a chair, his nurse beats the article of furniture and calls it "naughty" for hurting the boy, and we all smile, because we know that no evil spirit dwells therein. We don't blame the temperature should it fall to 50 degrees below zero, for we know it can't help itself, and it is equally as irrational to blame humanity for actions that are just as much necessitated by causes as is the hardness of a chair or the lowness of the temperature.

Many of us have enjoyed seeing a vaudeville ventriloquist show. One might say, then, on determinist principles, that all animals are but a superior kind of lay figures, manipulated and made articulate by the Divine Ventriloquist in whom "we live and move and have our being."

As a system of social science and practice, Marxism is determinist. Our Materialist Interpretation of History asserts the general moulding power on political and intellectual thought and action of the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange; Economic Determinism traces the effect upon the individual, of the way he gets his living. The Negation of the Negation sees a three-phase movement pervading the universe, the last phase being similar to the first, but more developed than this; and knowing that human society and government began communistically we know that it must end in a still more advanced communism—the system of society to which all civilization is even now hastening. Curiously enough, the immortal Shakespeare, but without suspecting its importance, has given us a most elaborate example of this principle as regards "virginity" in "All's well that ends well," Act I, scene I.

In view of the evils, outrages and class-wars of the earth, it seems horrible that their authors and victims must be held to be in the grasp of an iron Necessity. Yet, many religions have been forced to acknowledge the universal dual principle of Good and Evil, the one following the other, as the shadow follows the light. More and wider light then, say we, and so banish the darkness to an irreducible minimum! Wherein we anti-freewill Socialists differ from the mere ethicists and religionists who seek only to "change the heart," is, that we believe morality to be the result and not the cause of social amelioration. Was it not the invention or a better and more stable food supply that abolished the eating of human flesh? Was it not very largely due to the resulting greater productivity of labor that slavery gave place to serfdom, and the latter to wagedom? So Labor's complete emancipation by Socialism will be brought about by the increase of productivity. We are tired of looking for the good, the true and the beautiful in a capitalist society that breaks, degrades and despoils the masses. We work for Socialism, because that alone will establish the environment that shall realize our economic and intellectual ideas.

Progress.

GILMAC.

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## The Gospel of the Jungle

By Jerome K. Jerome.

FOR five years—and a bit before that—the guides and rulers of the people have been preaching Hate, Greed and Violence as the three cardinal virtues. And now they are shocked and grieved that their curses are coming home to roost. For five years — and bit before that—our pulpits and our Press have proclaimed to the people the gospel of the jungle. Our advertisement hoardings have screamed their Hymn of Hate. Our poets and our popular writers, our journalists and politicians, our teachers and our talkers, have glorified Force and Selfishness as the only means of progress. Every decent instinct of humanity has been held up to contempt and ridicule. Christ has been tricked up in the robes of Caesar, and a fifteen-inch gun placed before God's altar in St. Paul's Cathedral as a symbol of our new religion. Mr. Winston Churchill's posters still proclaim the joyous delights of war. The pamphlets of the Ministry of "Reconstruction" paint Peace and Reason as mere idle hypocrites, and seek to impress upon the people that the will to warfare is the only test of man's virtue, his only possible road to success. And now the whole chorus of our classes is in terror lest the workers should apply the lesson to their own desires. It can not be done, my Lords, ladies, and gentlemen. You can not deny Christ to suit your own purposes of yesterday, and today seek to protect your own interests behind the Sermon on the Mount. For five years—and a bit before that—you have filled the people's hearts with hatred. It was to be directed by you, for your own unholy aims. You are finding that you can not set fire to passion and be sure of controlling the conflagration. For five years you have fanned the flames of hatred. And, now that there is a danger of the fire coming your way, you are awakening to the advantages of brotherly love.

The ruling classes are hot against class warfare. Because class warfare brings war to their own doors. They can no longer, sitting in security, direct its course and reap its spoils. All war is civil war: man against his brother man; against his sister and his sister's child, his blood relations. Does humanity, at the command of a Kaiser, stop at the Vosges? Are the children of Adam bounded by the right bank or the left bank of a stream? Is Mother Nature, like some spell imprisoned princess in a fairy tale, caged by the dotted lines upon our Lilliputian atlases? Did God make all men in his own image for diplomatists and newspapers to deny their common likeness? Hum, Bolshevik, unspeakable Turk—friend of yesterday, foe of today. Has he not eyes, has he not hands? Is he not fed with the same food, subject to the same diseases, warmed and cooled by the same summer and winter? If you prick him, does he not bleed? If you tickle him, does he not laugh? If you poison him, does he not die? And if you wrong him, shall he not revenge? At the beginning of the

war, in an American newspaper, I came across a cartoon that deserves to be remembered. It represented the Beast of War, vomiting murder and destruction. A monster with senseless eyes and cruel jaws. And in a corner of the picture was the trembling, tiny, figure of the German Emperor. "I am giving you the run of your life," was stammering the little emperor, addressing the monster he had helped to loosen. "But remember, you have got to be back in your cage before the leaves fall." Five years ago, the old men who ruled Europe (History will apportion their guilt when she has the whole truth before her) let loose the Beast of Blood. For five years they have hounded him on with their shrieks of hate and vengeance. The little German Kaiser he has swallowed up. It was a dainty morsel. And others of his patrons that fed him and caressed him; patted with their little hands his scaly head. And he is not back yet in his kennel. There is more yet that he will devour before he sinks again into gorged slumber, and the poison from his nostrils has died out of the people's heart.

## Clippings From the Press

### Suggestion Made to State Council That Peace Offer Be Made to Foes

(From Vancouver "Sun")

LONDON, Oct. 23.—A Bolshevik wireless message from Moscow says the Soviet Parliament will convene, December 1.

LONDON, Oct. 23.—Michael I. Terestchenko, former minister of foreign affairs of Russia, who fled to Sweden from his native country in 1918, has proposed to the State Council at Moscow that a peace offer be made to the enemies of Russia, according to a despatch received here from Berlin.

### SEATTLE I. L. A. TO STOP GUN RUNNING

Seattle longshoremen are seeking an injunction to restrain American Manufacturers of Munitions from shipping such material to Kolchak, whom they cite as "not even the head of a de-facto government, and a filibuster against the law and peace of nations." They are soliciting funds to make a test case having obtained credentials from the Seattle General Labor Council for this purpose.

### SIBERIA

Lieut-Colonel J. W. Warden, who returned recently after an extended stay in Siberia and China, spoke before the domestic and foreign trade bureau of the Board of Trade Thursday, upon the trade possibilities of China and Siberia.

During his remarks he stated Japan hoped to dominate Siberia. That country now had officially 40,000 soldiers in the country. But unofficially there were 600,000 Japanese soldiers there. In addition there were a vast number of soldiers along the Manchurian border.

In answer to a query, Colonel Warden said there was as yet no evidence of a stable government in Siberia. He

## Dusty Dan

(From Glasgow "Socialist")

"THAT American bloke says that th' export of coal is 20 million tons short a month, er sumthing. Did yer see that?" remarked Dusty the other night.

"Yes, I saw it," said someone.

"Yuss," goes on Dusty after a deep guzzle and splutter, "yuss, mate, an' 'e begs the miners tew work extra 'ard to save the bloomin' world from collapse. And in the next column the capitalists is refusing a twopenny rise in wages to stop a strike, aint it? What's that mean? Why, that the capitalists won't give twopenny to save the bloomin' world from collapse and total eclipse, but keep all on imploring the workers to dew it with sweat an' cheap labor. You've saved the world once, yer noble fellers, they say, by killing the Germans; save it again by slavery, 'ard and glorious slavery! Work 'ard! down the coal mines, my dear fellers, they says, so that we may enjoy warming our 'ands at a comfortable profit! You fought the Germans practically for nothing, an' yer don't think we is such fools tew pay yer for digging up coal, do yer? That's the tune they keep all on singing. Wot's the sense o' keepin' up the everlastin' jaw about the coal crisis, when in reality it's only a question o' money. Capitalists won't let go a penny o' their profits unless they is forced tew by law: an' 'oo makes the law? Why the Capitalists theirselves. And so it goes round in the same circle. They feed the workers on a mass o' everlastin' daily lies through their newspapers, a-tellin' about the necessity and terrible shortage an' all the rest of it, while all the bloomin' time they is creating these theirselves by point-blank refusing to let go their wealth, privileges, position of Boss, an' all that. They're a pack of liars. Humbugs, swindlers, doos, cheats, hypocrites, blood-suckers, profiteering bone-crushers! Liars, mate, that's wot they are. It aint a joke, it's a cool fact. Well, if it's a fact, 'ow is it the working class don't see it tew a man, and up an' stop it? How is it they don't see it, I says. Why, because o' the Rich Man's newspapers an' printing machines: that's wot does it. Why look 'ere, the pages o' stuff they print day an' night all on their own side is mil-

did not think the Kolchak government would survive. That general was surrounded by administrators who were "frightful crooks," he said.

—Vancouver Sun, Oct. 24.

### BRITISH RAILWAYS

The loss of £100,000,000 in one year's operation of the railways in Great Britain by the Government is now shown to be a ludicrous myth. Sir Eric Geddes figures are challenged. It was shown that the transportation of soldiers and military materials, etc., were never placed to the credit of the railways. Sir Leo Chiozza Money, the statistician, declares that the Government really made a profit of £59,000,000.

lions an' millions. The population is absolutely stuffed up, covered over, bunged up with the capitalist hypocritical lies an' 'umbug, and wrong way of putting things. They show the crowd everything through their own green spectacles. They show yer every problem an' hargument from th' wrong side, their side. If you compare the printing machines in our hands to th' printing machines in their hands, why it's like the voice of a little tiny child a-shouting out against the chorus of fifty thousand roaring giants. An' wots more they knows the himportance of print these here Capitalists do; if we print a pamphlet they don't like because it talks a bit too clear about their downright swindling, what do they dew? Why they comes in an' walks off our printing presses, don't they, I know they does. They knows the value o' print, I tells yer: it's more to them than the whole o' the British army. Incourse it are, fer if it wasn't fer the Newspapers o' conservatives lies, the whole o' the army would be against them. Who's that bloke over there?"

"That's a Labor M.P.," replied someone at once.

Dusty shoved his fingers in his mouth and issued an awful whistle. Talking ceased everywhere for a moment, and angry faces turned towards the corner.

"Come over 'ere, Guv'nor! I've got sumthing ter tell yer!" shouted Dusty.

The M.P. and little group of Labor Aristocrats looked at each other; but they came across slowly.

"I've got sumthing tew tell yer, gents," said Dusty.

"What is it?"

"Wot is it, why this, you know all the jabber wot goes on about Direct Action; sort o' 'arf an' 'arf threats from the Triple Alliance o' Labor to the Capitalist Government; where Labor keeps all on sort o' shaking its fist an' saying, you be careful or I'll do sumthing: an' never does nothing, because they are afraid they ain't got enough o' the crowd behind 'em. Wot yer ought ter do with yer Direct Action is simply this. A General Strike against Capitalist Newspapers! Smash th' Yellow press by a direct demand. Say, 'stop them lies!' General strike it, force it: Stop them lies! We've 'ad enough of them! Stop them newspapers, Mr. Humbugging, Swindling Capitalist, or we shall walk in an' take yer printing presses, like yer do tew us. A resolution an' a General Strike could silence 'em: that ain't bloodshed, it's only a fair request. Force it with Direct Action, I tell yer. It'd dew more for Russia than all yer jaw about withdrawing troops. Stop the capitalist lying-machine and the population would see things fair an' square for the first time fer a couple o' hundred years. Smash the Yellow Press by a General Strike! There yer are, that's all I'm goin' tew say!" And he dismissed them with a wave of the arm.

H. C. S. C.